

ID 1609 | EXPATS AND THE CITY: THE SPATIALITIES OF THE HIGH-SKILLED MIGRANTS' TRANSNATIONAL LIVING IN THE CITY OF MOSCOW

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the transnational discourse, an assemblage of broad-ranging immigrant groups and their transnational practices are explored throughout multiplicity of issues. Emerging mobilities are generated by a range of factors, including among others employment and education, and involved in notable changes in urban environments. In particular, they find reflections in the new perspectives of transnational living and residential practices. Along with international workforce, new highly mobile lifestyles, cultural habits, and residential practices are being imported. Many scholars now examine the challenges that transnational living lay on the globalizing cities and their built environments, along with processes of segregation and advancement of human capital.

This paper presents the findings of the qualitative study of the high-skilled transnational migrants living in the increasingly globalizing city of Moscow. It focuses on the migrants from the Western world who moved to Moscow to live for the extended time. The paper aims to investigate the spatialities of their everyday living and the relations between the settlement patterns and localizations of social practices with the urban development process of the city.

A case of Moscow has shown an array of the transnational lifestyles localizations, bringing two main findings: the general pattern of scattered settlement, and the diversification of sociocultural practices highly dependent on communication strategies and lifestyle types. The scattered settlement of the high-skilled transnational migrants in Moscow counterparts and adds on the explored trends of clusterization of the transnational elites in some other globalizing cities.

The paper is divided into four main sections. Firstly, following a review of the literature, the context of globalization and migration processes in Moscow outlined in order to provide the reader with the background information about the skilled international immigration in this city. Secondly, the general structure of the expats' living in the Moscow is outlines, focusing later on the residential strategies of the expats that ultimately result in the scattered settlement structure. In the process, key neighborhoods of choice for transnational living are highlighted, and the question of whether these neighborhoods correspond to the localities of inner urban globalization process of the city and to the settlement patterns of other migration flows. Thirdly, the spatialities of the use of services by the expat communities are uncovered, with reference made to the particular sociocultural backgrounds and lifestyles. Finally, the paper suggests a discussion of the relations between the scattered settlements of expats as a part of urban remodeling progress.

It seeks to contribute to a number of fundamental literatures: the overreaching globalization in the world cities (Sassen, 1991), the increasing importance of global circulation of skills, and the crucial significance of transnational urbanism in explaining urban complexity (Smith, 2001).

2 FRAMEWORK

The emergence of the class of high skilled international migrants is one of the outcomes of the processes of globalization and transformation of the labor practices around the world. Since the late 1980s, international skilled mobility has become a topic of academic inquiry, examining it from the perspectives of different disciplines (Scott, 2006) bringing together migration studies, urban studies, economics and social geography.

The issue has grown its importance in the latest decades (e.g. Keil 1998; Smith, 2001; Sklair, 2002; Ploger & Becker, 2015). In the current debate in the research field, there is a duality between homogenization and integration trends can be observed, which finds reflection on many scales from global networks of capital and labor to the adaptation of local and translocal spaces within the city. Specifically, it is claimed by many authors (e.g. Beaverstock, 2002, 2011; Pow, 2011; Tandogan & Incirlioglu, 2004) that transnational migrants tend to integrate more with their international communities without investing significantly in local ties and environments and tend to hold to detached lifestyles. On the other hand, other authors (e.g. Moores & Metykova, 2010; Schiller & Caglar, 2013) argue that due to transnationalism many migrants demonstrate more integrity with international connections, but also with local ones, and they tend to develop attachment and sense of belonging in the framework of hosting localities. Thus, as identified by some authors, it is necessary to study both the dynamics of mobility and those of rootedness (Andreotti et al., 2015, p.6).

2.1 GLOBALIZING MIDDLE-CLASS PROFESSIONALS

While there is no agreed concept or definition of the high skilled, it can be discussed with the focuses on the circulation of capital, migration of skills and 'brain drain' approach, or through the acceptance of the idea of networks, human capital and global mobile workforce (Vertovec, 2002). Within the topic, authors might broadly refer to transnational elites, globalizing professionals, expatriate workers, nomads, global managers, service sector workers, etc., also considering a variety of professions and lifestyles. With these multiple levels of definition, it is important to clarify the borders of the phenomena adopted in the proposed research. One exhaustive definition is suggested by Vertovec (2002). By skilled migration, he means most broadly defined migrants 'in possession of a tertiary degree or extensive specialized work experience – including architects, accountants and financial experts, engineers, technicians, researchers, scientists, chefs, teachers, health professionals, and – increasingly – specialists in information technology'. He also emphasizes that the term 'migration' – particularly with regard to the highly skilled – may not be the most accurate. Instead, it is more suitable to talk about 'movement' or 'mobility', as migration has veins of permanence or long-term stay, while nowadays the movement of many highly skilled professionals tends to be intermittent and short-term (Koser & Salt, 1997). Furthermore, transnationalism of skilled migration advocates the approach to consider 'the attachments migrants maintain to people, traditions and causes outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved' (e.g. Bash et al.; 1992; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). Illustrative to that, according to Portes (1997), 'through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both'. That class of transnational high-skilled migrants is under consideration.

For the purposes of the current research, the term 'expatriate' is endorsed and applied throughout the paper in reference to the high-skilled transnational immigrants living in Moscow. Having said this, the paper acknowledges the deficiencies of the term limiting the scope towards the privileged migrants exclusively. However, the vast majority of the interviewees have themselves claims to be considered as expatriates rather than migrants.

2.2 SOCIO.SPATIAL BEHAVIOR

Whereas there are a large number of studies on residential patterns of international migrants and ethnic minorities, particularly with regard to the spatial segregation in the cities, the localization patterns of the highstatus migrants were out of scope of academic focus before the 1990s. This negligence was explained with the fact that their arrival and integration are less 'problematic' than of the low-skilled migrants, which are considered potentially threatening for the social cohesion and national identity (White, 1988).

Initially, it is important to mention that the 'home-host context' has influence on the transnational outcomes, and therefore, the localization strategies. On the one hand, the spatial isolationism of the western expat communities has been proven to be typical in the globalizing cities of the east, like Dubai, Singapore, Shanghai, where the cultural and mental barriers between the migrants and local population were robust. At the same time, there are studies illustrating spatial heterolocalism in the contexts when the host and home countries of migrants had social and cultural proximity, e.g. British in Paris, Spanish in Brussels, etc. (e.g. Scott, 2004; Favell, 2008). In this respect, not only identity frontier matters, but also the geographical

proximity between two countries and the possibility for frequent flights. Thus, relatively small geographical and identity divide might be potentially seen as a factor reducing the need of localized transnational exchanges in the city. Particularly interesting to consider this notion when exploring the spatialities of expatriates in Moscow, the city that lies culturally, socially and geographically in between the 'east' and 'west'.

In the vast part of the transnational literature, general discourse about the spatialities of the expats in the host cities is focused on the discussions of localization and homogeneity of residence, work, and social activities, that consequentially lead to the formation of 'bubble living' (Kennedy, 2007; Beaverstock, 2011) in social terms, and 'expat enclaves' (gated communities, expat districts in Dubai, e.g. Walsh, 2009) in geographical terms. On the other hand, within the western contexts more diversity and variety is taking place in terms of sociospatial behavior of expats (Scott, 2004).

Spatial localization of the immigrants in the host cities has been explained by a number theoretical concepts taking routes in 19s century. However, along the evolution of views from assimilation and pluralist models, the heterolocalism model (Zelinsky & Lee, 1998) is the one that taking over the ideas of transnationalism. The model advocates that ethnic communities of immigrants can exist without any significant clustering, in other words when members of a particular group are scattered throughout a city. Four main attributes of heterolocalism claim that: spatial dispersion of immigrants is taking place in the host country; residence and work are usually spatially separated; community ties are maintained via modern technological means and visits in urban, national, regional and transnational scales; heterolocalism is conceivable only in modern socio-economic and technological conditions.

There is a need to examine the relations between skilled migrants and urban structures, since the contentious increase in numbers of international skilled migrants in the globalizing cities might have significant effects in many cities, for example, as it is illustrated already by some authors, they might trigger rise of housing costs in some urban areas and might potentially lead the transnational gentrification (e.g. Paris, 2017). Hence, guided by the established tradition in urban studies (Hannerz, 2003; Savage et al., 2005; Kennedy et al., 2007), it is important to explore transnational mobility practices together with more stable residential practices. As Andreotti (2015, p.25) puts it, 'living conditions and experiences are always embedded in the particular city'. Thus, the paper brings the light to exploring the interactions of high skilled migrants with hosting urban systems, dedicated to the spatial differentiation (White, 1998; White & Hurdley, 2003; Andreotti, 2015), residential choices and relations with the housing markets (Pow, 2011; Beaverstock, 2002; Tandogan & Incirlioglu, 2000) and localized activities that are making the experience and lifestyles (Hannerz, 1996; Smith, 1999; White & Hurdley, 2003; Scott, 2006) of the transnational skilled migrants in the cities.

3 CONTEXT

While Moscow is one of the largest European cities with a multicultural population of over 12 million people¹, the globalization processes here have left a rather distinctive imprint on the urban fabric than in other major European cities. In order to examine the current set of conditions that the high-skilled transnational labour flows had been driven into after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and continued to evolve in since then, it is important to investigate which major economic, political and cultural forces and processes were composing these conditions. This section presents the context of Moscow at first positioning the city within the network of other world cities, then it discusses the involvement of the city in international economic and business processes, and circulation of skills and migration, and then canvass the globalization in the scale of urban environment.

3.1 GLOBALIZING MOSCOW

First of all, globalization came to Moscow rather late. However, ever since the concept was introduced Moscow has always been on the list of the world cities (Kolossoff et al., 2002). Preliminary, in the Soviet

¹ Source: Mosgorstat, 2016 http://moscow.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_ts/moscow/ru/statistics/population/ (Accessed on 09/05/2017).

times Moscow has always been considered as an important world city for being a capital of the Soviet Union as a superpower. Later on, when Moscow has first appeared in the world cities rankings based on the statistical data, it took a highest position among the post-socialist cities (Beaverstock et al., 1999). Later on, Taylor and Hoyler (2000) in their factor analysis of corporate service complexes of 53 European cities included Moscow in the Eastern European cluster of “beta” world cities. Similarly, Fossaert (2001) again put Moscow in the list of cities within a “Europe in transition” zone in his analysis of the world system. At the same time in the “The World According to GaWC” rankings¹, Moscow was steadily strengthening its positions: while in 2000 and 2004 it was classified as a “beta+” city, already starting from 2006 to 2016 Moscow took a rightful place among “alpha” cities, along with other European cities like Milan, Frankfurt, Madrid, Amsterdam and Brussels.

Particularity of globalization process in Moscow is preconditioned by the rapid transition to the market economy after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent alteration of involvement in global networks. In terms of economic changes, in the 1990s Moscow has undergone the process of rapid deindustrialization restructuring the economy towards the tertiary sector. Kolossov & O’Loughlin (2004) point out that during this process it was necessary to withdraw obsolete, polluting and labour-consuming branches of industry the city that nourished a major growth in employment in the fields of research, banking and insurance, telecommunications and construction.

As a consequence, firstly, of being a centralized node of power and functions for Russia and the whole post-soviet space, and, secondly, of acting a medium between the West and post-soviet space, Moscow managed to take advantage of its favourable position to establish control over the vast financial and commodity flows in the new capitalist conditions. That is particularly noticeable in the high concentration of global business services, presence of transnational companies, and rapidly developed financial sector. Particularly, by the end of 2002, two thirds of the world’s largest companies in the financial sector had offices, subsidiaries or partner companies in Moscow (Gritsai, 2003). In Russia, business services are strongly concentrated in Moscow providing about 30–45% of national employment in this sector. Moscow hosts offices of many transnational companies. Despite the fact that the number of Western companies entering Russian market remains relatively small due to the political reasons, yet some major Russian companies are performing their activities transnationally: for example, firms like PAO Gazprom (gas), Lukoil (oil), RAO UES of Russia (electricity), Rostelecom (telecommunications) and some banks have become transnational companies (Kolossov & O’Loughlin, 2004).

Furthermore, as an indicator of gradually expanding after the Soviet times involvement of Moscow in the interaction within the complex world system of cities, the number of international flights has increased considerably. Remarkably, only by 1996 the number of passengers of Moscow international hub – which included three international airports – had exceeded the number of domestic passengers. In 2012 the air hub of Moscow was used by 64 million passengers, placing Moscow on the third position among the most congested hubs of Europe, after London and Paris². By 2016 the number of airports serving Moscow has increased to four. Moscow increasingly orients towards the Western countries: the largest increase in the share of flights from 1985 to 1997 was with the Western Europe – up from 4% to 28% (Kolossov & O’Loughlin, 2004).

By and large, Moscow represents a large European megacity that for over two decades has been undergoing an accelerated globalization process along with the restructuring of the economy. Along with the political instability it brings the particular features to the globalization of the city on the other scales.

3.2 MIGRATION SPECIFICS OF MOSCOW AND RUSSIA

Moscow is a city of migrants and it has been one historically. It is very common to hear in the conversation the question “Where are you from?”; however, the salient feature is that this question is asked in Russian. The reason for that is the extensive migration flows supplying Russian capital for many decades sustained primarily by an internal migration from the regions and later on enlarged by the flows from the post-soviet states. Next to the enormous migration inflows ‘from the inside’, the exchange with other countries, which

1 Source: GaWC, 2016 <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/> (Accessed on 09/05/2017).

2 Source: Expert, 2013 <http://expert.ru/expert/2013/28/stalo-tesno-dazhe-v-nebe/media/201528/> (Accessed on 09/05/2017).

would represent the inclusion in the international circulation of skills, has always remained relatively low. The inflow of a transnational elite – professional and managerial workers, which formed a completely new type of community within the city, was an outcome of the expansion of the global BS companies in Moscow in the post-soviet period (Gritsai, 2005), and continued to expand in other sectors later.

Thus, the UN Report on International Migration has shown that Russia¹ is in the list of the major countries for international migration occupying the third place after the US and Germany. There is a large share of inflow migration that reached 11,6 mln people in 2015 (UN, 2015), which accounts for 8,1% of the country's population. The major source of this flow is a migration from the CIS countries coming to the major Russian cities in a search of a job and better living conditions than in their own countries. Along with that, refugees contribute to this number, with a major increase of migrants from Ukraine in 2014-2015. Another contribution to the inflow of migrants is related to the so-called ethnic repatriation, standing for the return of ethnic Russians who lived in the former Soviet Union countries other than the Russia – 2/3 of immigrants over the period from 1998 to 2007 were ethnic Russians (Nozhenko, 2010).

One of the strains for any study aiming to investigate quantitatively the skilled labour migration in Russian cities concerns the paucity of data. In part, accessible data sources can contain information about nationalities of the immigrants in Russia, or the skill levels without association with the departing country. Even less data available on the level of international migration in the urban centers.

As mentioned above, migrants coming from the CIS countries are the main contributors to the international migration in Russia (over 90% from the overall net migration) with Ukraine as a main donor. Historically, the number of the migrants from far abroad², was rather low but it was steadily increasing in the post-Soviet period. However, the political and economic situation of 2013-2014 caused a major drop in number of foreigners coming to Russia. Since then the number of foreigners from developed western countries keeps falling: from 2014 their number decreased by nearly 60%, while by some countries, even more (Table 1). So, the number of foreigners from the US and Spain fell by 80%, while that from the UK, by 83% (Florinskaya & Mkrtychyan, 2016).

	13.11.13	01.10.15	01.10.16
Germany	352335	148414	116948
Spain	77200	23144	16011
Italy	77193	34908	28114
The UK	174061	50478	29739
Finland	108312	47360	94557
France	65559	38645	29697
The EU as a whole	1177829	546341	513367
The US	220086	68367	53978

Table 1. The number of foreigners from some EU countries and the US staying in Russia as of the specified date, persons³

The average annual number of foreigners coming to the Russia for work (the purpose of visit is specified in the migration card at arrival) amounts to about 4 million people: about 3.8–3.9 million labor migrants from the CIS countries and 170,000– 180,000 are from far abroad countries (Florinskaya & Mkrtychyan, 2016).

At the same time, the number of high-skilled foreign specialist keeps falling as well. In 10 months of 2016, about 29,4 thousands of work permits have been issued for the skilled and high-skilled migrants – it is four times less than of the respective period of 2014 (there were 121,5 thousand permits issued). Among the donor countries for the high-qualified specialists (HQS) first place belongs to China. The major difference for the high-skilled migrants from the far abroad comparing to those from the CIS countries is the need to receive a special type of visa for HQS granted for 3 years, while for the former CIS countries there is simplified regime of patents that they can buy in order to work in Russia.

According to the estimations based on the annual data of inputs and outputs of international migration in Moscow and the data from Census 2010 on citizenship, the number of the international migrants in

¹ In terms of international migration, the city of Moscow and its metropolitan area, together with St. Petersburg region, are the main centers attracting migrants (e.g. Florinskaya & Mkrtychyan, 2016).

² From far abroad' is a category in the official statistics of Rosstat Bureau.

³ Source: Main Department on Migration of the RF Ministry of Internal Affairs, CDAFNSP

Moscow not coming from the CIS countries is around 33 thousand people¹. However, it worth noting that international migration in Moscow has been undermined in the recent years when after the economic crisis and political situation of 2012-2013 the major outflow of expats has started. In 2015-2016 the situation has slightly improved but still the levels of inflow international migration are not nearly similar to the period before the crisis.

Nonetheless, being a particular type of international migration makes it harder to grasp high-skilled transnational migrants with the official statistics. Temporality of their movements and strong transnational ties, on the one hand, question the very affiliation with the notion of migration as a type of spatial mobility. On the other hand, some of them for various reasons do not acquire the suitable visa (for the HQS) and instead prefer to renew the touristic one every three months.

4 SPATIALITIES OF EXPAT LIVING IN MOSCOW

The qualitative analysis of the expatriates is derived from 32 semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted in 2017, participant observation in the expatriate locales, and three months of Moscow-based fieldwork. Methodologically, as the adepts of 'transnational turn' advocate the necessity of the in-depth research of everyday life experiences of the migrants (Conradson & Latham, 2005; Scott, 2006), the major part of the evidence presented in the paper is acquired primarily from interviews and ethnographic data. One of the targets of the research was to access the manifold of expatriate types varying in terms of family status, occupation, age, sex, pertaining to both upper and middle classes, as well as diverse countries of origin. The interviewees were recruited through the snowballing personal contacts, the involvement in various expat community meetings, and the informal communication in expat locales.

Throughout the fieldwork a number of expatriate types were distinguished (Table 2). The first type represents young international professionals who have their work as a main priority, and use the employment opportunities in Moscow to build a career. The majority of them speaks Russian on a good level and has been interested in Russia's economic, political and cultural agenda for many years. For them, the relocation is a long-term though-out step that potentially could become permanent. In terms of sociospatial strategies, they show to be more sensitive about the qualities of the areas around their office and home, as they tend to spend more time there. The second type of expatriates is formed by the western families who moved to Russia for the work reasons of one of the spouses: for them, the contract is often limited to 2-4 years, their lifestyle largely exclude rooted experiences, the social circles are confined to the work connections or expatriate community.

With respect to the spatialities, the neighborhood of residence appears to be important, with easy access to a number of urban facilities (parks, sports, restaurants, shops). Additionally, the quality of the accomodation itself is significant: they choose spacious, well-maintained apartments; in some cases they even bring furniture with them. Type III is composed of mixed-relations families, which often had been formed before the foreign partner moved to Russia and that was partially a relocation motive. This type is to a great extent socially integrated, and in terms of sociospatial behavior follows the lead of local partner. Thus, the spatialities predominantly replicate the localizations of the middle-class muscovites. Type IV corresponds to the cohort of the early wave of expatriation of 2000s (before the economic crisis of 2008-2009) when the local economy was in demand of the western expertise, later on they stayed and in due course have transformed into the local market experts: in many cases, the field of their expertise is very place- and time-dependent, e.g. commercial real estate finance, so their expert value has become higher in Moscow than in their home countries. To some extent they intersect with the previous expatriate type, but the difference is that their spatialities have formed and evolved independently. The last type includes a mobile group of migrants that lead rather detached lifestyle, for them employment opportunities appear to have principally sustaining function for their transnational lifestyle, rather than add up to an international career path. Spatially, they give preference to the transnational places with a large diversity and density, in their choices they typically rely on the knowledge of expat community. All five types of expatriates contain the representatives of various western countries, with no clear evidence of relation between ethnic backgrounds and the chosen lifestyle. It is worth noting that a similar typology but with a larger number of

¹ Calculations of the author.

outlined types has been devised by Scott (2004) for the British expats living in Paris, that reinforces the likeness and comparability of various skilled transnational communities in other globalizing cities.

I. Young professionals (7)	II. Expatriated western families (3)	III. Mixed families with Russian partner (6)	IV. Russified experts (5)	V. Transient migrants (people "on the move") (8)
Career-oriented professionals, mostly two-folded relations between Russia and their country of origin	Characterized by isolated lifestyles ("bubble living") and predominantly expat social circles	Most integrated group, tends to reproduce sociospatial practices of Russian middle class families	Came in 2000s during the boom demand for western expertise and converted into local experts	Lead highly mobile detached lifestyles, often lived in several other countries before, mobility as a way of living
<i>Permanent/transient</i>	<i>Transient</i>	<i>Permanent</i>	<i>Permanent</i>	<i>Transient</i>

Table 2. Lifestyle types of the expats in Moscow

One of the important dimensions of expat living is its geographical spread. Expatriate residents in Moscow demonstrate a range of locational options in terms of residence and also economic and social activity. As a general rule, they tend to follow the pattern of spatial dispersion, with minor degree of clustering. In this vein, the constraints of the housing market, the advancement or shortcomings of economic and technological facilities, and the diversity of local ethnic context all impose certain limitations on sociospatial behaviour of migrants.

While the geography of their transnational living is dispersed, however, there is a trend that expatriates to a greater extent tend to gravitate to the city center, either in terms of their social activities exclusively, or both their residence and activities.

"For me, Moscow is inside of the Garden Ring almost. A lot of my friends are artists or creative people, so they work sometimes and they hang out after work, but they all live in the centre... It seems to me that, at least socially, everything is either within or very close to the Garden Ring, and any place that I'd want to hang out in is definitely inside the Garden Ring." (T., 32 y.o., corporate lawyer from the US, Type I)

In part, this trend might be related not solely due to the livelihood and diversity of the city center, but also due to the differences in comprehension of the city size induced by their backgrounds. Hence, for some newcomers, Moscow might seem too large¹ in terms of territory to think of it as a whole city, so mentally they reproduce their own understandings of reasonable urban size and utilize only that part of central city.

"I guess Moscow stops where the new circle line stops (MCK - Moscow Central Ring), and then outside are suburbs maybe. That's because I do the analogy with Paris, because we have a big motorway that encircles Paris: inside is Paris and outside is not Paris anymore. ... Moscow is so large. Actually for us, Europeans, it's impossible to imagine that the city could go on... It's already so big and it still goes on. So I guess that for me after certain point it's difficult to count it as Moscow itself, though it is Moscow." (R., 24 y.o., Engineer student from Paris, Type V)

4.1 GATED SUPER-RICH

While this paper is primarily focusing on 'middling transnationalism', however, in order to illustrate a general settlement structure of expatriates in Moscow it is important to indicate the presence of gated communities among the residential patterns, both in the city and in its suburban settlements. Residential isolationism of the 'transnational elites' has been broadly researched in various cities by many authors. The residential patterns of expatriates living and working in the cities like Dubai (Walsh, 2009), Singapore (Beaverstock, 2002; Pow, 2011), Shanghai (Sander, 2014), and others, consort the processes of

¹ The area occupied by the city of Moscow is 2,511 sq km.

'homogenization' and 'ghettoization' in urban environment caused by the skilled transnational actors, that consequentially enlarges social polarization in the city.

There is a large presence of suburban communities with foreign involvement in the western and northwestern directions from Moscow. The northern-western inclination of these compounds is also noticeable inside the city of Moscow. This type of residence is represented by the exclusive townhouse communities that were built initially for diplomatic families. One of the developments of this type is Pokrovsky Hills, a gated community with over 200 detached and semi-detached houses and rents ranging from 6 to 10 thousand USD (Medvedkov, 2007). Another example is Rosinka, similar community located in the northwestern suburbs of Moscow and composed of 217 luxury town-houses scattered around a lake with a sandy beach. All settlements of this type provide a set of high-end facilities (Table 3), including 24h security, sport centers and swimming pools, tennis and yacht clubs, medical centers in line with western standards, and more importantly, international schools. For instance, the direct access to the largest Moscow Anglo- American School from its territory is claimed as competitive advantage of the prestigious housing estate Pokrovsky Hills, and consequentially pulls the settlement of expatriates. Rosinka residents can easily access the British International School.

Compound	Rosinka International Residential	Pokrovsky Hills, townhouse residential
	Compound 5 km from Moscow (from MKAD), the closest metro is Mitino	community Moscow, Pokrovskoe-Streshnevo area, between Tushinskaya and Voikovskaya metro
<i>Offered facilities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 20 clubs for sports, social and cultural activities; - Private beach; - 24h security; - 2 swimming pools; multifunctional sports courts; - medical center, school, kindergarten. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adjacent to the forest reserve park "Pokrovskoe-Streshnevo"; Close to the Khimki water reservoir, the Moscow Canal and the Khimki river; - 24h security; - Premium class townhouses; - medical center, school; - Yachting facilities.
<i>Expatriate community targeting</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Website translated on 5 languages. • Main motto is "Your home in Russia"; among the advantages of the compound, the presence of international community is indicated; • Residents are diplomats, businessmen, top managers of leading Russian and foreign companies; • Families from more than 30 countries; • International School of Moscow is located here. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designed to meet the needs of business elite and diplomats" • International architectural firms are involved in design of the complex; • Secured direct access to the Anglo-American School campus; • European Medical Center (EMC) on its territory

Table 3. Characteristics of two gated settlements with expats presence in Moscow¹

To a large extent, the residential choices in favor of gated community are driven by the ambitions of expatriate families to maintain the suburban lifestyle residing in private single-family houses while still living in a metropolitan setting, instead of inhabiting an apartment in multi-story buildings that represent the predominant housing model in Moscow.

Nevertheless, these residential scenarios have extreme constraints related to the high housing costs. The living costs in the gated compounds include the monthly rent of over 200,000 RUB (above 3200 EUR) on average. Moreover, these compounds tend to lack the direct connection with the public transportation system, thus, owning a car is highly anticipated from the residents. As a consequence, just as for the local population the residence in the gated townhouse compounds is extremely exclusive scenario, in the same way, this residential strategy is attributed only to a narrow group of transnational super-rich.

Having said that, it should be stressed that the presence of geographical residential enclaves is not representational of the expatriate ghettoization process. On the contrary, the spread of the upscale gated communities is typical for the local context of Russia, and this issue has been investigated in a number of studies (Lenz, 2006; Medvedkov, 2007; Zotova, 2012; Polishuk & Sharygina, 2016). In addition, even while

¹ The information is taken from the official websites of the gated settlements: <http://www.rosinka.ru/en>, <http://pokrovskyhills.ru/en.aspx> (Accessed on 09/05/2017).

living in the gated compound expatriates are comingled with the local population, although of the upperstatus background.

4.2 SCATTERED SETTLEMENT

As described before, there is little evidence found of the geographical enclavism of the expatriate living in Moscow. However, a certain level of differentiation has been observed between patterns related to the localization of the residential choices and the geographical spread of the leisure localities. Below follows the examination of, firstly, the basic locations, such as housing, work, and schooling, that correspond to the 'necessary' fixations in the city, and then, secondly, the locations of optional choices, related to socialization, sports and leisure.

One of the things that has proven to be crucial for defining the localization patterns is the companyprovided relocation packages, however, currently their determining role is decreasing, giving space to the other factors. In the previous waves of high-status migration, an extensive employer involvement in the housing provision or search was taking place. However, nowadays in the face of economic crises and outflow of investments from Russia, these all-inclusive relocation contracts are losing its weight in determining the expat localities. There is still a number of jobs that suggest particular residence for the expatriate on their arrival, for example, diplomats and the workers of international organizations, like Red Cross, can rent apartments with special prices in the buildings for diplomat residence, that often have central location, gated entrance and short-term contracts. However, to a greater extent the employers tend to include in the relocation package a particular monthly amount of money assigned for renting, and the expatriate worker is responsible himself of finding a place to live within the determined price range. That mostly applies to the top managers of the multinational companies. However, the expats that occupy lower career positions and salaries are not entitled to have these benefits, having to arrange the housing on their own.

In the current state, the ways used by the high-skilled transnational migrants to find apartment are diversified. Generally, there are four main ways detected how the expatriates have found the apartments where they currently live: 1 – pre-set accommodation: either they move in the apartment owned by a local partner, or in the apartment suggested by the employer; 2 – online search sources: this includes the use of aggregative platforms that collect rental options (like CIAN, The Locals, Domofond), and the public posts in social networks (in relevant Facebook groups and Couchsurfing); 3 – through friends: both locals and from the expatriate circles; 4 – real estate agents: not very popular option, there are frequent complaints against the choice or prices of apartments found by the realtors. Thus, the search of the apartments is diversified in terms of sources, sometimes expatriates use more than one way. As a rule, the process takes around 1-2 months; some of them declare that they had seen over 10-15 apartments before making a decision.

Accordingly, it could be asserted that the difficulties associated with the search of apartment are representational of the existing mismatch between the housing expectations of the expatriates and the opportunities of the market in the respective price categories. In addition, throughout the period of living in Moscow, among those who stayed for more than a year, the majority of expatriates have changed the apartments a couple of times. The only expat from interviewed who has never changed the apartment in 11 years since he moved, emphasizes that he was very lucky and it is important to keep good relations with a landlord.

"I was lucky because I like the flat and also the owner. Because I think the biggest problem in Russia is the landlords, since it's very unstable, they come to you, they say I need a flat, you should move out. A lot of friends had this kind of problem. Or - I want 10'000 RUB more a month - take it or leave it. My landlord is very decent. ... I've lived in the same apartment for 11 years now." (S., 44 y.o., real estate finance expert from Italy, Type IV)

At the same time the choice of the apartment is not directly contingent on the distance between the residence and the workplace. The proximity to work is among the potential factors that could explain the residential choices of the expatriates. However, the findings show that the distance from residence to the workplace varies significantly: from 10min walking to 1-1,5h by metro or car (due to the traffic congestion). On average it takes them about 30-40 min to get to work. Interestingly, the vicinity of metro, that could

potentially reduce travelling time, was not that crucial either: in many cases the apartments are located in 10- 15 min walking distance from the closest metro station. Therefore, the factor of the location of the office does not show to be significant for the residential choices.

"I spent six years living in Yuzhnoe Butovo, which was a good experience ... I've commuted for 2 years to Khimki, through the whole city, it was a nightmare. My record journey home, I believe, it was 11 hours from Khimki down to Butovo. It was close to the New Year, and the whole Moscow was 10 on Yandex¹ ... [On average] If I left at 6 o'clock in the morning, I could be there [in the office] around 7:20. But if I left at 6:30, I could be there at 10 o'clock in the morning. It was impossible to predict. And in the evening, if you didn't leave by 5 o'clock, it could be anything from 7:30 to 9 o'clock at night. You had to leave at 5 o'clock." (S., 33 y.o., construction consultant from the UK, Type III).

Another factor relates to the range of prices for rental housing and prices could be a limiting factor. They vary significantly, depending on the social and family status, area, and size of the apartment. On average, the middle-class expatriates pay from 80 to 120 thousand rubles (around 1200-2000 EUR) per month for an apartment of 2 and more rooms in central areas, while upper-status families often pay 200 thousand a month and more (above 3200 EUR). Some exclusive offers in prestigious areas, targeted at superrich, might reach 350 thousand rubles (5600 EUR). At the same time, there are strategies to diminish the costs, for example, single expatriates can share the apartment with 1-2 flatmates, occupying one room each, and splitting the overall rental price accordingly. This scheme is especially popular among young professionals of the Type I, who prefer to share but live centrally and in a lively area. Another way is to save on housing is to live separately but in the outskirts of the city, however, due to the high commuting time (can reach 1,5h), the majority of the expatriates prefer not to use this option.

As described by some authors the location of international schools might drag the residential choices of expat families. However, in Moscow the locations of international schools do not correspond to the residence localizations of the high-skilled transnational migrants. In 2017 there were 27 international schools in Moscow, and over a half of them have English as a main language of instruction (the clear western inclination is observable). Nevertheless, not all expatriate families send their children to these schools, as the fees are extremely high. It varies from school to school but on average the yearly fee for one child is around 25,000 EUR. Importantly, the fees are fixed in euros, while many expatriates, especially those out of multinational corporations employment, have their salaries in rubles. Thus, the economic crisis of 2013-2014 and the devaluation of ruble affected severely the schooling opportunities in expatriate families. At the same time, there is a significant number of mixed-families, in which children can speak Russian. For that reason, these children often get registered into local schools, although the foreign spouse would prefer them to keep dual language and cultural identity. For example, Frenchmen with children of Type III finds it difficult to cope with expensive school prices with the existing economic situation:

"When you are a foreigner, you always have some fees in your native country. For example, if I take my case, I also have to pay the school of the children here. ... It's a significant amount, and it's in euros. ... So that's why many foreigners with the local contracts left in 2014, and also in 2015 when the ruble devaluated very strongly. ... I don't travel much now. Mostly because of the crisis, and because it has reduced [the number of] business trips. Also my fees are always in euro, I have to do some savings." (C., 46 y.o., project manager from France, Type III).

Among the common reference mentioned across the expats with respect to the housing are the complaints about the poor quality of the housing supply. In general, there are three most repeated dissatisfactions with the housing in Moscow: 1 – bad quality of the infrastructural details, like dysfunctional wire system, bad plumbing and water pipes, high sound conduction of the walls; 2 – impractical layout of the apartment and irrational organization of furniture, appliances and finishing in the apartment; 3 – negligence and deprivation of the communal areas of the building, like staircases and entrance hallway. Also, it has been articulated in the interviews that inviting friends over to their houses for common dinners, parties, etc. is

¹ Yandex Traffic provides real time information about the congestion levels on the roads: from 1 – free road to 10 – traffic stopped.

less common here in Moscow, than in their previous experiences in their countries of origin. Particularly, all that might contribute to the fact that the vast majority of expatriates prefer to socialize outside of their homes, preferably in the areas in the city center.

Overall, the expatriates living in the city of Moscow have not proved to produce any noticeable residential concentrations, neither in central, nor in suburban city locales. When asked about having any neighbors who are foreigners as well, no one could mention more than one or two families within the same residential units. While there is no clear residential concentration of expatriates, however, in terms of preferred areas to spend time in, there are several districts that many expatriates articulate as attractive. They include Patriarshy Ponds, Kitay-Gorod, Chisty Prudy. These areas are described as the places to spend time but the expats not necessarily choose to live there. One of the possible reasons for favoring other locations for residence, less appealing areas, might be the housing market restraints, related to the high rental prices and the shortage of diversified rental supply in popular areas. However, these neighborhoods are extremely lively, providing multiple choices of bars, cafes, clubs and restaurants. One of the residents of Kitay-Gorod sketches the appealing side of that area:

"It has this really good feel about it. I mean there is a lot of diversity of people there, and shops, there are hipster bars and high-end restaurants and street bars. There's just so much diversity: there are drunk people, there are young people, business people. I really like that. There are probably other nice neighbourhoods where I could live... There are all sorts of other neighbourhoods, but this feels much more diverse, much more interesting. I like feeling that diversity of life." (T., 45 y.o., area director of hospitality company, from the UK, Type V).

In terms of social practices the circulation of information about the locales is of great significance. The choice of places where expats go is highly dependent on the social relations they maintain. Accordingly, the communication strategies tend to have the direct impact on the localization of the social practices. Crucially, the Russian language proficiency partially determines the expatriate communication strategies, and consequentially the localization of their activities. The knowledge of language is not that obligatory for the use of places, but it is important through which circles they get to know about the places.

5 CONCLUSION

The settlement patterns of the expats living in Moscow can be embedded in the heterolocalism model, as the evidence reflects the presence of four main principles of the sociospatial model: spatial dispersion, disjuncture between residence and workplace, ethnic community ties are sustained remotely, and time-dependence. The emergence of heterolocal model for the settlement of Moscow-based expatriate workers has shown to be relational to the urban planning structure of Moscow. Bringing into focus the city of Moscow - a large postsocialist European city with a growing international orientation striving to integrate itself into transnational economic structures (Brade & Rudolph, 2004) and global labour circulation – helped to discuss the theory of sociospatial intergration of migrants in the comparative perspective. The research intends to extend the understanding of the influence of the migrant class of globalizing middle-class professionals on the spatialities and social geography of the destination cities and its contribution to the globalization process.

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ID 1631 | TECHNOLOGY USE AND ITS INFLUENCE IN TRAVEL BEHAVIOUR AND URBAN FORM

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1 INTRODUCTION

It is likely that the current generation that is growing up immersed in a technology filled world can perceive space and distances from a different perspective than those that come before. The speed by which technology is evolving increases day by day and, moreover, people and companies are discovering and consolidating different ways to take advantage of the current available possibilities that the devices with internet connection can offer.

In this context, an important concept is the “mobile ecosystem”, that in accordance with Berger et al. (2016) is composed of a set of tools that can be used while people are moving around to communicate and obtain information online independent of the person's location, i.e. devices that can easily be carried anywhere and have the ability of staying online at any time. The mobile ecosystem has changed the way by which people set about in their daily activities and interact.

According to Inman (2012), despite of the already existing literature on digital consumer, the growing diffusion of smartphones expands the possibilities of studies through researches on how an “always connected” environment can influence consumer cognitions and choices.

Kuhnimhof et al. (2012) highlights that the impact of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) on travel behaviour is not clear and so, it should be studied focusing on those young adults who grew up with ICT and developed their mobility habits in the presence of such technology.

In this context, the mobile device with internet connection is re-defining, in some extent, the space, when activities are detached from specific places. The consequences of these changes have a high potential of impact in a city's layout and mobility patterns for the current and next generations. According to Castells (2000), the format of the cities is changing, having the network of communication as a guide, where the technological infrastructure that builds up the network defines the new space, very like railways defined